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COMPETITIVE WAR CO-OPERATIVE PEACE

The Only Real Question in this Year's Campaign is Socialism vs. Capitalism—A Vote for Either of the Old Parties is a Vote for Capitalism

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Will Do More to Lift the Moral Status of the Individual than All the Preaching of Two Thousand Years

By Rev. Chas. H. Wall

The only real question at issue in this campaign is Socialism vs. Capitalism. We are called upon to choose which system we prefer—the co-operative or competitive. A vote for McKinley or Bryan is a vote for the continuance of present conditions. A man who casts his vote for either of the old parties has no right to complain of the economic or moral conditions which inhere in the system he has voted to maintain.

What are some of the conditions and results of the competitive system of industry? It brutalizes men. It turns them into moral monsters. It makes them human sharks and wolves by compelling them to prey upon each other. It dehumanizes and crushes out the higher impulses and aspirations, leaving only the animal instinct of selfishness intact. It is only such moral monstrosities that are fitted for the competitive combat. The possession of a sense of justice and right unqualifies men for the competitive warfare—such qualities seriously handicap a man in the struggle for wealth. In a competitive environment it is the unscrupulous and crafty that are best fitted to succeed. A man must not be too sympathetic and considerate with others' misfortunes, business is business, we are told, and fitness to survive means a willingness to utilize the misfortunes of others to your own emolument. The man who is the most brutal and who rides roughshod over the rights of others, is the man who usually succeeds, and is consequently the man who is honored and respected in the community. What a deplorable condition! The old saying is "Nothing succeeds like success." It makes but little difference to present society how you get it, if you only have it. Such a condition is truly deplorable, but it is a condition that cannot be helped under the present system. It is the system that compels men to take advantage of their fellows. So long as the interests of men are antagonistic we can hope for no improvement. Unless we will arise to the removal of the cause, we may as well be complacent over the result. Sermons will not extirpate the evil, it is too deep seated, it inheres in the system itself. The Socialists, however, have arisen to the removal of the cause and they will remain standing until this accursed system is abolished. Every vote cast for Socialism is a protest against this vicious, order and a pledge and prophecy of its overthrow.

Socialists believe that man is not inherently bad; he is only a creature of environment. The old theological doctrine, born in the ignorance of the dark ages, that man is essentially evil and can neither think or act rightly, has long since been relegated, in the minds of thinking people, to the limbo of imbecile creeds. The old doctrine of the fall of man, has been supplanted by the new doctrine of the rise of man. Evolution has given us a new conception of life. The progress which man makes in perceiving and attaining the higher ideal depends upon his surroundings. Philanthropists have demonstrated the power of environment in molding human character. They have shown that 90 per cent of the children taken from the slums of our great cities and placed in comfortable homes grow up into respectable men and women. If left to grow up in the wretched surroundings of vice and crime, they would contribute to the criminal and outcasts of society. Eighty per cent of the criminal class comes from the slums!

All recognize the power of environment. None want their boys brought up in vile surroundings, or their girls raised in brothels. They realize that children surrounded by such conditions will turn out bad. The only remedy is to destroy the evil conditions. This Socialism will do. Socialism will not only destroy the slums, but also poverty, which is the chief cause of crime, and it will surround men with an environment which is conducive to honesty and

well-doing. It would do no good to destroy the slums, close the saloons and brothels, and leave the present system intact. The cause remaining the conditions would soon be reproduced, or manifest themselves in some other way which would be just as bad. Neither does it suffice to remove the young from this condition, even if all children could be removed, and leave the system in operation, for the slums are constantly filled by those whom the system have forced into bankruptcy. To remove children from evil conditions and then force them as adults to earn a living in a system where 95 per cent of business men fail, and where to succeed they are tempted to resort to trickery and dishonesty, is surely no solution of the problem. Herbert Spencer in his essay, "The Morals of Trade," asserts that all competitive business is by its very nature corrupt, that it is impossible for an honorable man to conduct his occupation in an upright manner for the reason that the scoundrel sets the standard and the pace. It is the rascal who commences to adulterate goods and the honest man must follow suit or go bankrupt, and suppose he should do the latter, then he actually injures society more than if he had joined in the adulteration. Can men be expected to be sound morally under such conditions? Is not our whole social structure a temptation to do wrong? It is a wonder, under present conditions, that men and women are as good as they are. It speaks volumes for the moral soundness of human nature, that the higher triumphs as often as it does in the face of such odds. It is but natural that men should frequently give way to temptation, that the lower self should triumph when temptation is strong, but it is just as natural for men to stand firm, for the higher self to triumph when tempted to do right. Human nature responds as quickly, and, in fact, more so when tempted in the right direction. We find men continually rising to a high plane of unselfishness when their interests are not at stake. Men will do good for its own sake, but not evil except for the sake of gain.

Our objection to the present system, then, is that it makes it to the interest of men to do evil and to take advantage of their fellows. Men rise by pushing others down. In such conditions it is not strange that men become inhuman, that the tender sympathies and higher ideals are crushed out. What else could one expect from a system of commercial cannibalism? You cannot gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. Neither can we expect the qualities of love, tenderness, helpfulness and sympathy to result from a system of competitive struggle for the necessities of life. Competition is warfare and warfare, whether physical or commercial, national or individual, begets enmity, strife, and hatred.

Socialism is the only remedy for these evil conditions. Socialism would realize the solidarity of mankind. It would make the interests of all identical. One could not then gain at the expense of his fellows. When success does not depend upon taking advantage of some one else, then the motive for injuring others will be gone. Such a system would turn this old earth of ours into a heaven. It would remove both the motive and opportunity for selfishness. It would do more to lift the moral status of the individual, than all the preaching and mere teaching of the last two thousand years. To expect people to live a true life under the present cannibalistic system, is to expect greater wonders than are reported in the legends of the past. Indeed, the way of righteousness is narrow, in the present order, and few there be that find it.

Socialism furnishes the only condition wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. We ask all who believe in the better way to join us in its realization. The first step is political organization, and mastery, through political action, of the public powers. Political organization has now been effected, and you are asked to cast your vote in the coming election for the realization of a better civilization. If you believe in the need of a better order, vote for it. If you want a continuance of the present deplorable conditions, then vote the old party tickets and I will guarantee you will not be disappointed. But if you have a desire to uplift society, vote a Socialist ballot. Every ballot cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human emancipation.

If labor in America produces every year \$2,000,000,000 worth of goods more than the producers can buy, what's the reason for it? Ever think of that, John? Did you know that that fact was the key to Chauncey Depew's explanation of the "hammering at the gates of Pekin"? How can a dollar-a-day man buy back products valued at \$5 or \$10? Don't you see, John, how you are being fooled?

PRODUCT AND PROFIT UNDER WAGE SLAVERY

The "Fair Wage" Nonsense and the "Well Paid" Apologists for the Wrongs and Injustice of Capitalism

RIGHTS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL

The Socialist Ticket is the Only One Which Should be Supported by the Victims of Capitalism

By Ben Atterbury

I would rather be able to lead the working class of my country to understand clearly their position and prospects under capitalist production than to lead the armies of the world as a conquering host against the Chinese empire. What I am most anxious to have my class see is this, that whatever individual workers may now be receiving as wages, whether the wage is one, or three, or five dollars a day, considered as a class they are the slaves of capitalism. They are receiving a small portion only of what their labor produces and others are enjoying the benefits of the possession of a large surplus, which possession is the direct cause of hard times and social misery.

If workingmen can be brought to understand this, that the rights of which they are deprived—chief among which is the right to enjoy the fruits of their own toil—are the cause of poverty crime and war, they will then understand that no other term so fitly applies to them as this, to which so many of their number, who receive what they call a "fair" wage object, SLAVES!

There is no such thing as a "fair" wage. No man ought to be called upon to toil for an idler, or for another man who appropriates any portion of the results of his labor. And wherever this process of appropriation, which is common and necessary to the very existence of capitalist production, is going on, no such thing as a "fair" wage is possible. It is robbery sanctioned by custom and law, even though some wage-slaves do receive higher average pay than others.

The "well-paid" mechanics' condition may be tolerable; they may be reasonably contented with the treatment meted out to them by the class to which their labor is PROFITABLE, but their contentment has its tap-root in ignorance of the rights of their fellow-men who are less fortunate. Your "well-paid" slave is usually ignorant, not only of his own rights, but of the labor movement and the social question. Too often he is a pitiable apologist for all that is cruel and unjust in the existing order and indifferent to the economic condition of those a little lower down in the wage scale. And so what I have to say is not addressed particularly to him, although it concerns him and I would be glad if he would stop and think about it, but to the same average working class man I have addressed before.

Let us suppose that one hundred men in our class, working in a factory, receive each \$10 a week. The entire product of the labor of these men in a week is worth \$5,000 to the owner of the factory. The owner pays out \$1,000 for the labor which was necessary to produce the things. He sells the product for \$5,000 and has a profit of \$4,000 on the transaction. Doing business the year round on the same basis, he pays out \$52,000 for labor and, if he disposes of the product, receives \$260,000 a profit of \$208,000 for the year. The

profit on each man's labor per week is \$40.

Now, can you tell me why each of the one hundred workmen should get only \$10 a week and the employer make a profit of \$40 off his labor? Can you tell me why the income of the workmen should be \$520 a year, while that of the employer is \$208,000?

"But the employer has other expenses!" Very well, what are they? We want to be fair. Will all the running expenses for a week exceed an amount more than twice the cost of labor? Probably not. It is almost certain they will not, isn't it? Yes. Then their employer who sells the product of one hundred men's labor each week for \$5,000 pays out \$1,000 for labor and \$2,000 for all other expenses (a big allowance surely!) is actually making a profit of \$2,000 a week, that is to say, if he sells the goods, his yearly income is \$104,000. This income for a single year is equal to all the wages of one hundred men for two years. The employer's individual income per week is nearly four times that of each of the workers.

"But the employer has invested his capital in the business and is entitled to a fair return!" Is that it? Well, we want to be fair. Remember that the employer about whose interests you are solicitous has already drawn four times as much as any one of our hundred workmen. Now, we will say that his money capital invested in the business is \$20,000. The income on such an investment at 10 per cent would be only \$2,000. Let him have that and you think the equities have been dealt out all round, don't you? But, hold on! What about the rights of our hundred men to a return on their capital? You overlook that. If the employer is entitled to a return on his capital, why are not the workmen entitled to a return on theirs? All they have, all they get anywhere, is a wage dribble—\$10 a week—to live on!

Can you not see the flagrant injustice of the wage system? I say to you, there is no villainy in the world equal to the capitalist device known as wage labor. There is no escape for the average workingman from the murderous system of monopoly and capitalism by electing the candidate of one division of the capitalist party to sit in the place now occupied by the representative of the other division. There is hope only in overthrowing the power of capitalism at the ballot box and voting for the abolition of the wage system and production for private profit.

This you can do by voting for the Socialist Democratic party.

WHEN WILL UNIONISM DIE?

When the lion eats grass like an ox
And the fish-worm swallows the whale,
When the terrapins knit woolen socks,
And the hare is outrun by the snail,
When the serpents walk upright like men

And the doodle bugs travel like frogs,
When grasshoppers feed on the hen
And feathers are found on the hogs,
When tom-cats swim in the air
And elephants roost upon trees,
When insects in summer are rare
And snuff never makes people sneeze,
When fish creep over dry land
And mules on bicycles ride,
When foxes lay eggs in the sand
And women in dress take no pride,
When Dutchmen no longer drink beer
And girls get to preaching in time,
When billy goats butt from the rear
And treason's no longer a crime,
When the humming bird brays like an ass
And limburger smells like cologne,
When ploughshares are made of cut glass
And the hearts of workmen are stone,
When ideas grow in jackasses' heads
And wool on the hydraulic ram—
Then unionism will be dead
And the country won't be worth a—
—Pittsburg Labor World.

AMONG THE RIGHTEOUS

"Let us talk about why we that produce nothing are rich, while those that produce everything are poor," said the Gentleman.

"It isn't true," said the Statistician.
"Nor new," said the Historian.
"Nor pleasant," said the Lady.
"Nor permanent," said the Benevolist.

"Nor profitable," said the Clergyman.
"Nor nothing," said the Politician.
"It may foster discontent," said the President, "and alienate—ahem—support from our institution. Let us discuss a subject agreeable to us all: 'The drink evil among the lower classes.'"—Bolton Hall.

De Giers, whom the missionaries and the Chicago American had chopped up into pieces and boiled in a large kettle, has been appointed Russian minister to Paris. This ends one incident in the career of the twentieth century newspaper.

RISE OF SOCIALISM IN UNITED STATES

Its Seven Million Supporters Spread Over All the Belts and Zones of the Globe—Controlling Majorities Rapidly Organizing

SOCIALISM THE ONLY REMEDY

Equality of Rights and Opportunities for Every Human Being is the Party's Vital Fundamental Principle

Eugene V. Debs, In Independent

In the presidential election of 1892, the Socialist candidate received 21,512 votes; in the election in 1896 the vote was increased to 36,275 votes. The following two years witnessed an unprecedented spread of Socialist sentiment and in congressional and state elections of 1898 the Socialist candidates received 91,749 votes, an increase of almost 200 per cent in two years. But it must not be assumed that this vote represented the entire political strength of Socialists in the United States. In a number of states the election laws were such that the Socialist ticket could not be placed upon the official ballot, while in many districts the number of Socialists was so small and they were so widely scattered that no nominations were made and the Socialist vote was not polled.

The figures given are sufficient to indicate that in the United States, as in other countries, International Socialism is making tremendous strides and that its seven million supporters, spread over all the belts and zones of the globe, and the most active propagandists ever known, will in the next few years be multiplied into controlling majorities in all lands which have modern industry as the basis of their civilization, Socialism being wholly a question of economic development. This will mean the end of the present capitalist competitive system and the introduction of its economic successor, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The movement is international because it is born of and follows the development of the capitalist system, which, in its operation, is confined to no country, but by the stimulus of modern agencies of production, exchange, communication and transportation, has overleaped all boundary lines and made the world the theater of its activities. By this process all the nations of the earth must finally be drawn into relations of industrial and commercial cooperation, as the economic basis of human brotherhood.

This is the goal of modern Socialism and it is that that inspires its disciples with the zeal and ardor of crusaders.

So much has been said and written of Socialism by persons who have no proper conception of its origin, its philosophy and its mission, or who, for reasons of their own, have resorted to wilful misrepresentation, that it is not strange that a great many people instinctively shrink from the mere mention of it, and look upon those who advocate this perfectly sane and scientific doctrine as the enemies of society, maliciously plotting to overthrow its cherished institutions.

What is Socialism? To answer in a single sentence, it means the collective ownership by all the people of all the means of wealth production and distribution. It is purely an economic question; the evolution of industry has developed Socialism. Man can only work, produce wealth, with tools. The mere hand tools of former times have become ponderous and very costly machines. These machines, Socialists contend, represent progressive social conceptions. These and the factories, mills, and shops in which they are housed, as well as the lands and mines from which the raw materials are drawn, are used in common by the workers, and in their very nature are marked for common ownership and control. Socialism does not propose the collective ownership of property, but of capital; that it to say, the instruments of wealth production, which, in the form of private property, enable a few capitalists to exploit vast numbers of workers, thus creating millionaires and mendicants and inaugurating class rule and all its odious and undemocratic distinctions.

The Social Democratic party is pledged to equal rights for all without reference to sex, color or other conditions. Equality of rights and opportunities for all human beings is the vital

(Continued on Second Page)

Freedom Defined According To Social Democracy

A man is free if he has the means of livelihood and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others.

But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free.

Freedom is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair.

In a democracy no man is free without the means of livelihood.

—William Dean Howells.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 8, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.
For Vice-President:
JOB HARRIMAN.

Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Debs and Harriman, rah, rah, rah!
Hoo-rah! Hoo-rah!
Socialist Candidates.
Rah, rah, rah!

ECONOMIC FREEDOM THE ISSUE

"If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi or with Italy, when they were united to it, that thenceforward all should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have all freed themselves. If the French revolution had established these conditions the first republic would still be one and indivisible. But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats."

In the above extract from an article by William Dean Howells the writer suggests the solution of the great labor question, the end for which Social Democrats work. All can be guaranteed the means of livelihood only as Socialism proposes, by the supplanting of the present mode of capitalist production with co-operative or socialized production, which involves the democratic administration of all industry for use instead of profit.

While the profit system lasts and one man is dependent upon another for an opportunity to gain a livelihood there cannot be freedom, no matter what the measure of political liberty enjoyed. The security and happiness of a people never has depended upon mere political rights. No true democracy is possible where mere political rights alone are taken into account. Just as the French "thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats," so the Republican party in the United States hopes to quiet the rising discontent by finding foreign markets for the surplus products of the country, and the Democratic party proposes to behead the trusts. Both proposals are inadequate and must fail, even if both were put into operation.

The great question is one not of more political rights, but of larger economic freedom; every political reform proposed in the Republican and Democratic platforms might be carried out in good faith and to the limit of their possible benefits to the people, and then the question would be untouched, the problem unsolved, the people still groping in economic servitude.

There is a load upon the useful class in society—the working class, burden imposed upon it by custom, law, and the inhumanities of the capitalist system, which can never be removed by any legislation enacted by a capitalist party. Not until the working class is organized into a party powerful enough to wrest the machinery of government from the control of the employing property class, is there any prospect whatever for the removal of the load. With fine phrases and false promises the class in possession of the modern facilities of production and exchange for profit will attempt, as has always been the case, to deceive and render docile the producers of wealth. But until the latter throw off their lethargy and see the gross injustice of the present mode of producing and distributing things necessary for man's well-being, they may depend upon it that no changes equal to human needs and the demands of a progressive civilization will be sanctioned by the class in control of the productive powers of society.

These changes must be inaugurated by the working class; and in this country a method is at hand to accomplish the first step. That method is to act together as citizens, using the one political right which is more important than all the rest—the right to vote—to hurl all capitalist parties from power, seize the government and transform it from a political bargain shop into an agency for the administration of all industry to nourish, enlighten, liberate and elevate all the people. This is the program and this is the object of the Social Democratic party. It is the only party that squarely confronts the issue of our times and offers the logical and

true solution. It is deserving of the support of the tricked and plundered laboring class of this country, and a vote for Debs and Harriman will count, not to maintain the privileges of the rich, but to affirm, and finally win, the rights of the poor.

COULTER'S CHANCE FOR RE-ELECTION

The views of the Brockton (Mass.) Daily Enterprise on the prospects for a re-election of the Socialist mayor of that city, Comrade Coulter, will interest Social Democrats. That paper says:

"In the latter days of August the politician's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of politics, especially locally considered. Within the last few days there has been a lot of talk along the streets on the political questions, and especially on the question of who shall be the next mayor. And it is a tribute to Mayor Coulter to say it is generally admitted that it will take a good man to beat him, and that a man who splits the republican strength to any perceptible degree is going to be beaten. This is the time for the republicans, if they want to win, to get together and unite on somebody who is strong and able and has the confidence of the voters."

AFRAID OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Essex County (Mass.) Republican has a bad case of fright, all on account of the Socialists. In its issue for August 25, it says:

"There are a crowd of cart tail orators preaching Socialism and anti-imperialism night and day, in the noon hours of the manufacturing establishments, and in the night time around gathering places of the workingmen. They are gaining converts more rapidly than is for our good and a check should be put on them by beginning our rallies and awakening a feeling of interest in the issues before us."

"We do not pose as calamity howlers, but it is a shame to permit good men to become tied up in the 'isms' we have so many of, when a small effort in the right direction would turn them to the G. O. P."

"It is not so much for the presidential election that this sentiment will be noticed against us, as in the future state and county contests, when by a sudden move Essex county districts will send socialists to Beacon Hill."

"The socialists are the only live party at present and, without any newspaper talk, they are doing a powerful lot of missionary work. If continued, they will poll the largest vote in the history of their organization this fall."

HOW WORKINGMEN SHOULD VOTE

There is no doubt in the mind of the editor of the Miners' Magazine as to where workingmen should be found in the coming election, as witness the following from the August number:

"The untainted democracy met in Kansas City and nominated candidates for president and vice president, after ignoring the Populists and Silver Republicans."

"We have read the platform and we fail to find one word in reference to the action of President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg in maintaining martial law in the Coeur d'Alenes and compelling workmen to obtain a permit from an employee of the Standard Oil Company and a representative of the state of Idaho before they are permitted to work in the district."

"There is no question of so much importance to the people of the United States as the right to seek employment, and especially working men. Notwithstanding this fact, we see the democrats assemble in convention and ignore it, which is practically an acknowledgment of their indorsement."

"We fail to distinguish any difference between the Republican and Democratic parties."

"Both have failed to do anything for the working people, and in view of this fact we see no reason why working men have any cause for rejoicing over the democratic platform."

"Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman have done more for the laboring people than all the politicians in the two old parties, and deserve the vote of every workingman of the United States."

The Los Angeles Record tells an interesting story, which just at this time may be of interest to people in this city. When the democrats of Los Angeles were preparing for their recent grand ratification meeting the "finance committee" called on H. Gaylord Wilshire, at present the Socialist nominee for Congress, for a contribution.

"Well," said Mr. Wilshire, "I am a Socialist; why do you come to me for funds for a democratic ratification meeting?"

"Oh," said the speaker of the committee, "the democrats sympathize very strongly with the Socialist movement. We expect many Socialists to vote for our candidate because of our stand regarding trusts."

"All right," said our Socialist friend; "if the democrats are in sympathy with our movement, allow me to speak for ten minutes at the ratification meeting and I will donate \$100."

The offer was refused, and soon the story found its way into the papers.—People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Does McKinley carry a union card? Or Bryan? Nary! The only union card carried by a candidate for president is in the pocket of Eugene Debs. Make the union card count this year by preparing your ballot for the candidate of the Social Democratic party. This YOU can do in the seclusion of the voting booth. Take the "gaff" of the politician, but vote right.

"Stand by the union label!" Good enough. How about standing by the union card too, boys? Wouldn't that be a good thing to do? There is only one candidate for president who carries a union card. His name is Eugene Debs. The Social Democratic party stands by the label every time. Will trades unionists stand by the union card?

A letter received at headquarters from Comrade H. Bennett of Melbourne, Australia, says there has from the beginning been vigorous opposition to the South African war, a fact that has been systematically suppressed by the capitalist press. The Socialists of the country are unanimously against the course pursued by Great Britain.

Who said something about the freedom of "niggers" in the Philippines? Democrats, of course. And who disfranchised the "nigger" in North Carolina? The Democrats. Are you going to be fooled by Democrats who throttle liberty in North Carolina and babble about it in Asia?

James R. Keene, the Czar of Wall Street and the unchallenged King of speculation, was for McKinley in 1896, he gave \$40,000 toward the Republican campaign. Today he is for Bryan. Are YOU going to be fooled again?

There is only one way to bring peace on earth and good will among men. It is by rooting out and casting on the rubbish pile the system that makes war and ill-will by robbing the producers of four-fifths of their product.

"Socialism is not practical." Certainly not; the only practical system is one that robs the working class of all it produces except a dribble of wages to live on. But you'll learn a few things by and by.

If the "ardent Socialists" in the fusion ranks of Kansas (and elsewhere) vote the Social Democratic ticket there will be no division. If there is division the responsibility will be on the "ardent."

A prominent state official of North Dakota declares his belief that Social Democrats will poll over 5,000 votes in that state in November.

IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

There is a Field for Every Earnest
Thoughtful Man—Come Over
and Help Us

Socialists have been hammering away at you to get you to vote for Socialism. Time and again you have been shown clearly that you have nothing to gain and much to lose by voting the old party tickets. Yet despite the simplicity of the Socialist proposition, thousands are yet groping in the dark and despairingly voting first one old ticket and then the other in the vague hope of relieving the terrible condition of things which is plain to them, but whose cause seems to elude them. Thus all around us democrats are turning republican and republicans are voting with the democrats this year—vaguely, pathetically hopeful. What a portentous omen is this surrendering of old political affiliations!

The Rev. G. H. Hepworth of Long Beach, Long Island, is one of the great throng of perplexed, and recently he wrote to Grover Cleveland for an expression of his opinion on the political situation. But Mr. Cleveland declined to do so because, he said, it would not have much weight, and besides, he also said he is by no means free from the perplexities that afflicted thousands of others!

O men! can you not see that it is capitalism which you must smite a mighty blow? Can you not see that it is the real cause of the trouble in the Orient, and, in fact, all over the earth? In the language of the Rev. William T. Brown, "Plutocracy stands squarely across the pathway of the world's progress and must be supplanted with a new and better method. If we could only reach these bewildered ones with simple Socialist literature, so that they could understand that Socialism is not robbery nor yet philanthropy, but simple justice! And we must do this reaching out and educating for the average daily paper hates Socialism as the devil does holy water, and reading it only strengthens their prejudice. Only lately a Chicago daily called Socialism 'dividing up!' In spite of this tremendous handicap, however, our movement is gaining strength. People are turning with disgust from old-party promises, evasions, subterfuge and clap-trap and welcoming Socialism with open arms and sighs of relief. They

have come to the parting of the ways. They now begin to see that Socialism is not a terrible monster, but rather clear-eyed, robust, actually charming on closer view, courageous, and not to be bullied or roughly hustled out of the way—the friend and refuge of those who really desire "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Reader, did you ever watch the faces of the people on our streets? How few really fine and attractive ones there are! The majority are marred by lines of worry, avarice, greed, despair, discontent, traceable directly or indirectly to our awful competitive system which forces men and women to do things that are not only distasteful but positively immoral. Think of the thousands of adults and children who are seldom able to fully gratify other's hunger and who actually die hungry! Now, suppose these hampering influences were removed and more of co-operation injected into our national life; suppose these harried, wearied wretches could be relieved of the fear of want—assured of work and peaceful plenty as long as they lived. Don't you think the national life would be stronger and higher? Of course it would, for the whole are elevated when ever one person is improved. Then come and help us, for truly the harvest is great and the laborers are few. The people are beset by thieves and robbers, and the priests and Levites are "passing by on the other side," as of old! The Lord's work is being done now, as then, not so much in the great stained-glass temples as outside, by persons who are not of the "elect" and who are actually "unfashionable."

Help us, then, to work for Brotherhood, which is "Religion by her deeper name."

VIVEKA.

THE RISE OF SOCIALISM

(Continued from First page)

fundamental principle of Socialism. It aims to establish economic equality by making all equal proprietors of the means upon which all depend for employment, and without which there can be no "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." This insures economic freedom for every human being. As no one would have private property in that upon which another depended for employment, industrial mastery and slavery would disappear together and competition for profit would give way to co-operation for use.

The rapidly changing economic conditions are paving the way for the transition from competitive capitalism to co-operative Socialism. Socialists are simply indicating the trend of the evolution, and seeking to prepare the way for its orderly reception. The coming of Socialism is with them not a debatable question. That is not a matter of doubt or conjecture, but a scientific calculation.

The evolution of the social organism is a fact in nature. In the ceaseless process one state of society follows another in the sequence of succession. Capitalism, the present system, was warmed into life in the womb of feudalism and sprang from that medieval system. Within the span of two centuries this system has practically reached the climax of its development and the marvelous material progress of that period exceeds the achievements of all the centuries since the slaves of Pharaoh built the pyramids.

The rapid centralization of capital and the extensive co-operation of labor mark the high state of our economic development. Individual initiative and competitive effort are becoming less and less possible. The day of small production has passed never to return. Notwithstanding the outcry, trusts and department stores, these great modern agencies, increase in number and power. They are the inevitable outgrowth of the competitive system. The efforts of small capitalists to destroy trusts will prove as fruitless as the efforts of workingmen to destroy labor saving machines when first introduced in the last century.

Socialists take the ground that the trust in itself is not an evil, that the evils wholly in the private ownership, and its operation for private profit. The remedy is collective ownership and they propose to transfer all such agencies from private hands to the collectivity, to be managed and operated for the good of all.

Ignoring all such alleged issues as "expansion," "imperialism," "free silver," "gold standard," "protection," "free trade," etc., the Social Democratic party declares that economic freedom is the supreme question that confronts the people. A century and a quarter ago the revolution settled the question of political equality in the United States. But since then an industrial revolution has taken place and political equality exists in name only, while the great mass struggle in economic servitude. The working class are dependent upon the capitalist class, who own the machines and other means of production; and the latter class, by virtue of their economic mastery, are the ruling class of the nation, and it is idle under such conditions to claim that men are equal and that all are sovereign citizens. No man is free in any just sense who has to rely upon the arbitrary will of another for the opportunity to work. Such a man works, and therefore lives, by permission, and

this is the economic relation of the working class to the capitalist class in the present system.

In the last century millions of workers were exploited of the fruit of their labor under the institution of chattel slavery. Work being done by hand, ownership of the slave was a condition necessary to his exploitation. But chattel slavery disappeared before the march of industrial evolution, and today would be an economic impossibility. It is no longer necessary to own the body of the workman in order to appropriate the fruit of his labor; it is only necessary to own the tool with which he works, and without which he is helpless. This tool in its modern form is a vast machine which the worker cannot afford to buy, and against which he cannot compete with his bare hands, and in the very nature of the situation he is at the mercy of the owner of the machine, his employment is precarious, and his very life is suspended by a slender thread.

Then, again, the factory and mine are operated for profit only and the owner can, and often does, close it down at will, throwing hundreds, perhaps thousands, out of employment who, with their families, are as helpless as if in the desert wastes of Sahara. The recent shut-down of the American Wire and Steel trust in the interest of stock jobbery presented a startling object lesson of economic dependence of the working class.

The few who own the machines do not use them. The many who use them do not own them. The few who own them are able to exploit the many who use them; hence a few millionaires and many mendicants, extreme opulence and abject poverty, princely palaces and hideous huts, riotous extravagance and haggard want, constituting social scenes sickening to contemplate, and in the presence of which the master hand of Hugo or Dickens is palsied and has no mission.

The Social Democratic party is organizing in every village and hamlet, every town and city of every state and territory of the union. It has held its national convention, its candidates are in the field, and it is appealing to the American people. It will neither fuse nor compromise. It proposes to press forward, step by step, until it conquers the political power and secures control of government.

This will mark the end of the capitalist system. The factories and mills and mines, the railroads and telegraph and telephone, and all other means of production and distribution will be transferred to the people in their collective capacity, industry will be operated co-operatively, and every human being will have the "inalienable right" to work and to enjoy the fruit of his labor. The hours of labor will be reduced according to the progress of invention. Rent, interest and profit will be no more. The sordid spirit of commercial conquest will be dead. War and its ravages will pass into history. Economic equality will have triumphed, labor will stand forth emancipated, and the sons and daughters of men will glorify the triumphs of Social Democracy.

Terre Haute, Ind.

IN THE CITY STREETS

All Mary Paulson asks is a chance to earn her bread. This she has done the greater part of her threescore years and ten. Now the almshouse stares her in the face.

Only a few nights ago this poor old creature slept under the open sky. Now she occupies a dingy cell at the Desplaines street station.

Doubtless the policemen who brought her there considered it an act of charity. Perhaps it was. But to be charged with being "disorderly" when one is simply friendless and homeless seems hard.

Until last week Mrs. Paulson was not without a home. One small room out in North Western avenue was all that her heart desired. She did not think it hardship to work long, hot hours over washtub and board to keep this roof over her aged head.

Last week this poor washerwoman was evicted from the miserable room she called a home. She and her few wretched belongings were set upon the street. Her landlady did not mean to be cruel. She, too, belonged to the laboring class, and if her tenants failed to pay their rent it meant that she might lose her little all.

"I can work as well as any one, even if I do look old," this unfortunate creature told me through her native tongue, through Matron Ahlbeck, whose countrywoman she is. "I may be old, too; but I can work as good as though I was only 25, if I can only get it to do. That is all I want, just work. I have done washing and ironing ever since I came to this country from Norway years ago, and I can support myself, as I always have done, if I can only get places to work in. Then I can again have a room, if I can only find my furniture."

"People are so queer," she announced, as she came and grasped the iron bars for a moment and peered out at me. Then, as she wandered back to her forlorn-looking property, she added: "And they are deceitful, too. They all tell me that they will give me work. Then I am glad, but when I get to their houses they either have no work for any one to do, or they have given it to some one else."

LIEBKNECHT'S FUNERAL

Never Did Kaiser or King Hold Such a Reception at their Death—No Such Scene Ever Before Witnessed in Europe

[Harbert Burrows, in Justice]

The saddest, but at the same time the most glorious and inspiring function I have ever witnessed, is over, and our comrade, Wilhelm Liebknecht is at rest in his honored grave.

Delegated by the Executive Committee of the S. D. F. to attend the funeral, I left London on Friday night accompanied by our comrade, Saunders Jacobs, who had also been appointed to attend by our Stratford branch, Mrs. Jacobs, and their little boy, who was to receive his baptism of continental Socialism. With heavy hearts we arrived at Berlin. To me the sense of personal loss grew keener as we neared Charlottenburg, and it was with a sinking heart that I climbed the stairs to the well-known and modest fourth-floor flat in the Kantstrasse. Many times before had Liebknecht cheerily accompanied me, and now the home he loved so well was desolate. I took with me the wreath, which I had brought from the executive, of red and white flowers, with Liebknecht's initials in red geraniums in the center. The dead man's small study, with its piles of papers, where so many well-known men and women had sat and talked with him, was strangely still and silent, and the air was laden with the almost overpowering scent of the innumerable wreaths and flowers which had already been sent from all parts of Europe. By the actual time of the funeral five thousand of these had arrived, and the Berlin postoffice states that never for Kaiser or for king had such a wealth of flowers passed through their hands. Of Mrs. Liebknecht and the family it is, of course, impossible for me more than briefly to speak. In tears they clasped hands and welcomed me as the bearer of affection and sympathy from the England which husband and father had loved so well.

Afterwards I went on to the Vorwaerts office to learn the actual arrangements for the next day. Here, as always, the calm strength of the German Socialist party forcibly struck me. Intense grief, but no hurry, no flurry, everything down to the last detail thoroughly arranged, and work proceeding as quietly and regularly as usual. I learned that from nearly all the countries in Europe representatives had arrived, and that for the morrow an enormous gathering was expected.

And so it proved. Let me say once for all that the whole funeral is indescribable. No written or spoken words can convey any sense whatever of its simplicity, its grandeur, and its strength, for that latter word is the best I can use. From seven o'clock this morning tens of thousands of people from all parts of Germany poured into Berlin, and when we reached Charlottenburg we found a living sea of humanity. Once more we ascended to Liebknecht's rooms to take a last farewell. In his sitting room we found him reposing on the lid of the coffin, covered with wreaths. At his feet the inscription in bronze which was presented to him by his fellow Reichstag members on his seventieth birthday. The body had been partially embalmed, and the face was covered. It would have been sacrilege to have disturbed that covering, and personally I felt that I would rather remember him as I knew him living, with cheery face and laughing eye. A moment we stood, and then we joined at a rendezvous the leaders of the party, the Vorwaerts staff, and the foreign delegates. Then, led by Paul Singer, we wended our way to the house and waited for the sad commencement. Presently hushed hushed noted that Liebknecht had begun his last journey. Never can I forget that journey. We had to march ten miles from the west to the east of Berlin. In long procession 100,000 men and women guarded the body, and in the streets it is no exaggeration to say that a million more must have been present. For the whole of the ten miles, on both sides of the streets, they stood always ten deep, and in many instances twenty. As we passed the side streets we saw that as far as the eye could reach they were also full. Every window, and every one of the balconies for which Berlin is famous, had its own crowd.

Even the police, who for once with admirable discretion had almost effaced themselves, leaving to the people the management for one day of their own business, acknowledged that never had Kaiser or king held such a royal reception in their death. No such scene had ever taken place in Europe. Our French comrades said that the nearest approach to it was the funeral of Victor Hugo.

The hearse was followed by the Socialist members of the Reichstag, headed by Bebel and Singer, whose faces were white and drawn with pain. Then came the Socialist municipal councillors, the foreign delegates, the Vorwaerts' staff and representatives from the cities of Germany. It shows the bitter feeling of the bourgeoisie when I mention that not a single member of any of the other political parties in the Reichstag openly attended the funeral. But the dead man without them, as he had done while

living. We were told that there were six bands in the procession but we heard not a drum nor a funeral note. The concourse was too enormous. Nothing for hours but the steady ceaseless tramp of conscious Socialism, and it was the music of that which, could Liebknecht have heard it, he would have valued above all else.

As the evening shadows began to lengthen we learned that ahead of us was another procession of Liebknecht's constituents. A mile from the cemetery gates we found that, with their wives and children, thousands of them (he gained over 60,000 votes at his last election) had lined each side of the road and were waiting for us with bared heads. And so the body of their loved leader, member, and friend passed through a human aqueduct, the living walls of which were his personal friends.

We turned at last into the peaceful dwelling of the dead. The cemetery is a communal one belonging to the city of Berlin, and it was chosen because in it the police had no power to prevent speaking.

Into the little hall, which would only hold about 200 of us, the coffin, a wooden one encased in a massive copper sarcophagus, was reverently carried and placed in an alcove which was embroidered in ivy and laurel and lit by scores of massive wax candles. By this time the growing strain had become intense, and it culminated when from an ante-room we heard the notes of a weird funeral dirge exquisitely sung by an invisible workmen's Socialist choir. The undercurrent of sobs from men and women was almost a relief, for the strain was growing too great to be borne. Gently Singer beckoned the foreign delegates to take their places by him, and then Bebel stepped to the side of the coffin and delivered the funeral oration over the body of him who for thirty-five years had been his closest intimate and friend. Broken by emotion, his words told of the dead man's character and work and of what in him we had lost. Then in quick and brief succession Adler, his spare form quivering with emotion; Lafargue, with passionate declamation for revolutionary Socialism; Gerault-Richard; myself, with our message of sympathy from England; Anseele, with his fervid Belgic eloquence, and comrades from Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Hungary, Poland, all voiced, not merely lamentations, but hope for the Socialism of tomorrow. Then another dirge, and slowly we took our way to the grave. In the rays of the setting sun the procession twined in and out of the winding paths, and through the green trees the sheen of the coffin and the red of the wreath ribbons gleamed, curiously enough, like a rosy dawn, typical of what the Socialism for which Liebknecht had lived and died should yet be. The closing and impressive oration at the grave was delivered by Singer. Two more songs by the choir, with a growing note of triumph in them, the countless wreaths, their ribbons detached to be given to Madame Liebknecht, were piled in picturesque confusion, and at last Liebknecht, the old soldier of the revolution, was at rest, as he would have wished, under the benedictions of his comrades and friends. For hours the vast crowd filed silently past with bared heads to take the last look at their leader, comrade and friend.

THE POOR MAN'S CHANCES FOR FREEDOM

By William Dean Howells

As to what empowers you to self-sacrifice, renders you responsible, makes you free, it is commonly supposed to be the citizenship of a free country.

But this is very questionable; freedom by no means follows from such a citizenship.

In the first place, there seem to be as yet no free countries in the world; there seem to be only freer countries; and not every citizen of a free country is a free man.

He is a free man if he has the means of livelihood, and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others.

But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free.

Freedom, in fact, which in its highest effect is self-sacrifice, and of the skies, is chained to the earth in the question of necessity, as certainly as the soul is chained to the earth in the body.

It is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair.

It is true that in a tyranny the richest are not free; but in a democracy not only is no man free without the means of livelihood, but the richer man is always freer than the poorer man, as he is in every state.

The failure of most revolts, even such as have permanently displaced an oppression, has been their failure to recognize this fact.

If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi when he came (he did not come in person, of course), or with Italy when they were united to it, that thenceforward all should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have all freed themselves.

If the French revolution had estab-

lished these conditions, the first republic would still be one and indivisible.

But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats.

Even the Americans believed they had ordained universal freedom when they had thrown off their old allegiance to England, abolished titles, given every one the suffrage, and made their prince elective.

In each case something was gained, but it was not liberty for all.

Italy is now a freer country, or at least a freer government, and I do not suppose there are many Italians who would wish back the old despotisms; but probably most Italians under their crushing burden of taxation are now less free than they were under their alien masters.

The Venetians during their demonstration believed that if the Austrians were driven out the people would be free, just as the French during their revolution believed that if the aristocrats were killed the people would govern.

But I fancy none of the gay visions of the Venetians have been quite verified; they have got general progress, but not general prosperity. It is well that the Austrians are away, but the mass of the Venetians are sensibly no freer, have no more freedom of choice, no more power of self-sacrifice, than when the Austrians were in Venice.

We believe that a republic is a freer country than a monarchy; certainly a president is less absurd than a king, as a personification of the popular will, and doubtless such liberty as men now have is safer under democratic forms and with an elective chief.

At the same time it looks very much as if the great mass of people in every existing state were sacrificed to others without the power to sacrifice themselves.—From Chicago American.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Eighth Lesson—The Progress of Democracy—Governmental Efforts to Check Aggressive Liberalism; the Recognition of Inter-Dependence of Political and Industrial Revolution—The Influence of Hegelianism and Organization of National Reform Movements—French Revolution of 1830; Agitation for Constitutions—The Press Laws Under Louis Philippe—The Revolution of 1848; Republicans and Socialists—The Right of Labor the Outcome of the Agitations—(Books: Mueller, "Recent Political History of Europe.")

Ninth Lesson—Later Criticisms—Scientific Socialism Formulated Its Principles; Rodbertus and Marx; Marx's History of Economic Evolution; His Theory of Value; Of Average Social Labor; Lassalle, the Agitator; His New Political Party and Its Program—Social Democracy—Since Lassalle—Russian Nihilism in Its Early and Later Phases—The International, Its Aims and Fate—Anarchism as Distinguished from Anarchy—The French Commune—(Books: Rae, "Contemporary Socialism," Gide, "Political Economy," Laveeey, "Socialism of Today," Ely, "French and German Socialism," Schaeffle, "Quintessence of Socialism," Krapotkin, "Autobiography of a Revolutionist," in Atlantic Monthly, 1899.)

Tenth Lesson—The Churches and Higher Educational Institutions and Socialism—The Humanitarian Movement in England and Its Leaders—The Catholic Movement—The Protestant Movement in Germany—General Characteristics of Christian Socialism—The Professional Socialists and Their Program—Recent Tendencies; The Institutional Churches; College Settlements; University Extension—The Fabian Society—(Books: Rae, "Contemporary Socialism," Laveeey, "Socialism of Today," Ely, "French and German Socialism," Gide, "Political Economy," Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform," Woods, "English Social Movements.")

Eleventh Lesson—Economic Experiments in Industry—Co-Operation, Profit Sharing; Trusts, Department Stores—The Consumers' League—Eight-Hour Movement and Union Labels—Tenement House Reform—(Books: Ely, "Problems of Today," Gilman, "Profit Sharing.")

Twelfth Lesson—Legislative Tendencies—Progress of Manhood Suffrage—Common School System of the United States—English School Legislation—Public Education in Germany and Other Continental Countries—Liberalism in England and the United States—Legislation of Second Epoch Reform; Reforms in Land Tenure—Bismarck and State Functions in Germany. (Books: McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," Ely, "Labor Movement in America," Howell, "Conflicts of Labor and Capital," Laveeey, "Socialism of Today," John Stuart Mill, "Political Economy," Gide, "Political Economy," International Journal of Ethics, Vol. I and II; Dawson, "Prince Bismarck and State Socialism," Bismarck Autobiography.)

(Continued Next Week.)

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN SONG

By E. M. Stangland, Chicago.

We are coming, Debs and Harriman, one million voters strong;
We come from shops and mines, from fields and plains with joy and song;
We'll teach the ruling class a point on how to right the wrong,
While we are marching on.

Chorus: Hail the Social Revolution!
Cheer the Peaceful Revolution!
Speed the Coming Revolution—
The Brotherhood of Man.

Men and women, children, too, are crying out for bread,
In their faces hopeless misery and sorrow can be read;
We will tell them to be cheerful, we will say: "Lift up your head,
For we are marching on!"

Our mission is to introduce the glorious commonwealth
And give each one an equal chance in pleasure, work and health;
No dukes nor idle parasites to plunder us by stealth,
For we are marching on.

Our army is composed of men who do the world's work,
In realms of brawn and realms of brain the task we do not shrink;
We have no use for swords or pistols, cannon, powder, dirk,
When we are marching on.

We'll give you, Debs and Harriman, ten hundred thousand votes,
We'll make the welkin ring again with our triumphant notes;
We'll make the politician ask what all this noise denotes
When we are marching on.

The night of competition is about to pass away,
The Brotherhood of Man will bring us all a happy day;
'Twill break the chains of slavery and misery alloy,
And we are marching on.

The day of small things now has passed, the trusts intend to slay,
But our Universal Trust will take the trusts some day;
We'll all be in it, we'll be in it, we'll sing and shout hurrah!
While we are marching on.

Republicans and democrats we equally will doubt,
The one kills niggers far away, the other in the south;
False friends they are to working men we long ago found out,
And we are marching on.

With charity to all mankind and malice toward none,
We yet remember Homestead strike and later Hazelton,
And Bull pens, too—we keep account till victory is won,
While we are marching on.

Then, comrades, let us work and vote for Debs and Harriman,
Roll up the vote, keep up the work from Maine to Rio Grande;
Wage slavery must cease and men be free throughout the land,
For we are marching on.

Chorus: Hail the Social Revolution!
Cheer the Peaceful Revolution!
Speed the Coming Revolution—
The Brotherhood of Man.

GRAND SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION

EUGENE V. DEBS

WILL OPEN THE

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN

AT CHICAGO

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29TH

SEE ANNOUNCEMENT EVERYWHERE

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening. Membership, Social Democrat or Herald free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1234 Spring St. J. Francis, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:00 p. m. at 1718 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 3, Goldenfield, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall, Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 1039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schaff, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 8, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall, C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at 8 p. m. at Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwerfer, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 42 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 Westworth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturday at 8 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 133 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Svoboda, Secretary, 694 West 13th Street.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place, Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 8 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 133 Blue Island Ave. Jos. Cerny, Sec'y, 330 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday each month at 8 o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 133 Blue Island Ave., near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 8 (Bohemian) (Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays, at 9 a. m., at 5002 Line Street. J. A. Ambros, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 9, Chicago, meets at 11:45 W. 63rd St., first and third Sundays, at 3 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Patton, 617 Arbor ave.

IOWA

Branch No. 2, Hitepan, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

KENTUCKY

Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m.; and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 7, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

Branch No. 8, Lynn, permanent headquarters, 71 Monroe St. Business meeting every Monday night at 7:30. Open house. Public invited. Harry Gotimer, Sec., 425 Essex St.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets Friday nights at 8 p. m. for business at Socialists Hall, Clark's Block, corner Main and Center Sts. Every comrade is expected to attend one meeting a month. Mrs. Annie Bosworth, Secretary, 81 Prospect St.

Branch No. 25, Roxbury, Mass., meets at 24 Warren st., 2d and 4th Fridays of every month. Public invited.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesewein on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m., at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., "Edgewood" Hall, Owsley Block, G. Frankel, Sec. 71 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Kaighn's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Saturday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hertwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays, at 8 p. m., at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Linder, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 415 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday, at 112 Clinton St. A. Goyer, Secretary, 123 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5 Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Pressman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 20 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plinn Sts., every Sunday at 3 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Jos. Jasin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Coudersport, meets every second and last Wednesday of each month at 8 o'clock at E. K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knispel, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Codrington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning, at 8 A. P. Club Rooms, at 423 S. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 S. Third St.

Branch No. 10, Williamsport, meets every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., in Social Labor Hall, No. 26 East 3d St. G. H. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gesteke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Hendrich's place, 1011 Michigan ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Moller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerscha, Secretary, 291 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, south east corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary, 1225 29th St.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 21 and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Endolph Loeschman, 1225 29th St.

Branch No. 23, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at 524 Clark street. Henry Hachtel, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

Have your card inserted in the

BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per

Month. It will help you in the work

in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayor of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership. Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists. Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism. Third—The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER.....Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN.....Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT.....Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

Joseph Meindl, Oregon City	\$ 1.00
Branch No. 4, Nebraska	10.00
Aaron N. Sadots, New York	1.00
John Doerfler, Milwaukee	5.00
Fritz Koll, "	.50
B. Michel, "	.50
H. Schupack, "	1.00
S. Ruvlin, "	1.00
A. Fleisher, "	1.00
A. Mohrweh, "	2.00
F. Vohlbuch, "	.25
G. Bestian, "	1.00
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Alex. Glaeser, "	1.00
Jno. Doerfler Jr., "	1.00
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CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

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Ch. Groschel, "	1.00
Geo. Neff, "	1.00
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J. Woltsjaeger, "	1.00
"X. Y. Z.", "	2.00
Branch No. 22, Wisconsin	9.25
Branch No. 9, "	5.00
Branch No. 20, "	6.45
"Z," Chicago	.25
Abraham Minkowsky, Brooklyn	2.00
Louis Burger, "	.50
A. Sustrick, "	.50
M. Glickstein, "	.50
J. Goldstein, "	.50
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J. Steinfield, "	.25
M. Edelmann, "	.25
Previously reported	933.80
	\$997.75

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

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SEYMOUR STEDMAN.....Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities. Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose. Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public. Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible. National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want to old age. Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters. Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The comrades at San Antonio, Texas, have nominated a full county ticket and arranged for the publication of a weekly paper. Great enthusiasm prevails and a successful campaign is certain.

The Debs leaflet, at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

The stickers ordered by the national campaign committee are ready and orders can be filled as fast as they come in. They can be furnished only in packages of 500 or more, just as they come from the printer. Five hundred sent to your address by mail for 50 cents. An order for 10,000 has been received from Milwaukee. You will have more fun with this little sticker than you can imagine. One thousand, \$1; in lots of five or ten thousand, 75 cents per thousand.

A number of resolutions adopted by branches East and West refusing to recognize the Springfield executive board organically, have been received at this office. The attitude of a great majority of the branches is unmistakably expressed in these resolutions, but for good reasons no more space will be given to the subject. We are now in the political campaign, comrades. Let us work and wait.

Social Democrats of the Tenth and Eleventh representative districts of Massachusetts, met in mass caucuses Friday evening, August 24, and nominated candidates for the State legislature. Comrades Charles T. Laird and Elroy S. Thompson were chosen in the Tenth district and W. P. Bosworth in the Eleventh. All three are members of Branch 9 at Brockton and have been active workers in the movement.

Social Democrats of the Third Congressional District of Kansas have nominated John G. McLaughlin for Congress. Comrade McLaughlin is a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

Every name proposed by the Social Democratic ticket in Kansas has been approved by a referendum vote and Comrade Clemens stands as the party candidate for governor. Now look out for a mighty interesting campaign.

Social Democracy was well represented in the field on Labor Day. Comrade Debs spoke at Canton, Ill.; Clemens at Kansas City, Mo.; Stedman at Rockford, Ill.; Philip Brown at Sheboygan, Wis.; Strickland at Luddington, Mich.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

EDWARDS WITHDRAWS

To Social Democrats and Friends of Socialism in the Fifth Illinois Congressional District:

Having been nominated by my comrades as a candidate for congress in the Fifth congressional district of Illinois, I beg to thank them once more for the honor thus conferred and to say that I retire in favor of Comrade John Collins, whose candidacy will receive my earnest support and I trust that also of every Social Democrat in the district.

A. S. Edwards.

THE WISCONSIN TICKET

An enthusiastic and harmonious convention of Social Democrats was held last Sunday at Milwaukee, Wis., and the following State and Congressional tickets were nominated:

Governor—Howard Tuttle, Milwaukee.
Lieutenant Governor—George Dieke, Michicott.

Secretary of State—Charles C. Meier, Sheboygan Falls.
State Treasurer—John Doerfler, Milwaukee.

Attorney General—Richard Elsner, Milwaukee.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—August F. Buetow, Racine.

Railroad Commissioner—Frank Ellis, Monroe.

Commissioner of Insurance—Max Goeres, Kiel.

For Congressman—Fourth District, Robert Meisner, Milwaukee; Fifth district, Dr. H. C. Berger, Milwaukee.

Subscribe for the Herald.

NEW BRANCHES

Florida, one
Indiana, two
Virginia, one
Massachusetts, one.

NOMINATIONS FOR NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Allman, James, New York
Brown, Corinna S., Illinois
Berger, Dr. Henry C., Wisconsin
Berger, Victor L., Wisconsin
Clemens, G. C., Kansas
Cox, Jesse, Illinois
Doerfler, Jno., Wisconsin
Folen, T. P., Oregon
Foreman, W. E., Wisconsin
Greer, J. H., Illinois
Gordon, F. G. R., New Hampshire
Haile, Margaret, Massachusetts
Heath, Frederick, Wisconsin
Horgan, W. C., Illinois
Kelher, S., Indiana
Kelley, J. W., Indiana
Ladoff, Isadore, Wisconsin
Lake, H. S., Georgia, Washington.
Mohr, Aug., Wisconsin.
Roderus, Frank, Illinois
Ricker, A. W., Iowa
Riley, Geo. W., Illinois
Rooney, Eugene H., Wisconsin
Smith, S. L., Massachusetts
Strubell, Geo. H., New Jersey
Tuttle, H., Wisconsin.
Uhlhorn, Henry, Illinois
Winnen, Jacob, Illinois
Vadlar, Mudra, Illinois

IN MEMORY OF LIEBKNECHT

At the regular meeting of Branch No. 1, Social Democratic party of America, held in Portland, Ore., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: "Whereas, The death of William Liebknecht, the Socialist leader of Germany, whose life has been closely identified with the movement for the past half century, is deeply regretted by all Socialists in the United States, and "Whereas, The nomination of Eugene V. Debs for president, and Job Harriman for vice president of the United States by the Social Democratic party of America, demonstrates beyond a doubt the present progress and eventual triumph of Socialism in this country. Therefore, be it

"Resolved by Branch No. 1, S. D. P., Portland, Ore., that we deeply feel and regret the irreparable loss of so good and great a man as William Liebknecht; that history has furnished us no greater character, political or social, the friend and uplifter of down-trodden humanity, the enemy of tyranny, and oppression. Demanding equal rights for all people, despite color, creed or social eminence. Fearless to defy the combined power of kings, armies and courts, when subservient to insolent and self-constituted authority. Promoting and advising peaceful arbitration instead of devastating, cruel war as a means of settling political differences between nations. Demanding and insisting on the rights of labor, to the just and honest share of its products. And finally closing a useful and eventful life, rounded out by 74 years of well doing for his fellowmen. Beloved by the world's masses, who have been, are, and will be benefited by his noble example, patient suffering, indomitable courage and fearless will, to know the right and to do it regardless of any and all opposition.

"We, the Social Democrats of Oregon, take this method of conveying to the relatives, friends, and political associates of the great reformer and patriot, our deep sense of the loss the world has sustained in the death of William Liebknecht of Germany.

"Resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the 'Vorwaerts,' of Berlin, Germany." T. C. Wendland, H. E. Foetisch, Chairman, Secretary.

Grand Socialist Demonstration

Inaugurating the First National Campaign of the Social Democratic Party, at Chicago,

Saturday September 29, 1900

In which all Socialist organizations and societies in Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Missouri and other States will participate.

Day Parade and Mass Meeting at Night.

The Mass Meeting will be held in one of the largest halls in the city and the Speakers for the occasion will be

Eugene V. Debs
Candidate for President

Job Harriman
Candidate for Vice-President

The occasion will also be made a Re union of the men who fought the Lexington of the Labor Struggle, the American Railway Union.

A Banner or a Dollar.

This opening meeting of the Campaign must be made a great success and every Society, Branch or Section is called upon to contribute money or send a Banner with Comrades to bear it through the streets of the Commercial Heart of the Country.

Remember the Date—September 29.

Let every man be ready and make it a day memorable in the Socialist movement—the irrepressible rise of the Democracy of Labor.

By Order of Committee.

STICK UP THE STICKERS
MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick

STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only to packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

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Membership Applications (100)..... .25
Constitutions (each)..... .02

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy

Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman," by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	\$ 1.00
100 Copies	1.50
250 Copies	2.50
500 Copies	5.00
1,000 Copies	10.00
5,000 Copies	50.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON

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the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

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